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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu*; he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a concidence.[8] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

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thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 percent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

> In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, although perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem.

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them.

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal.

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige.

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic
594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form
434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An
578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [502] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[457] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work,
[167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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frequently postpone the division of a family for a number of years. Contrary to Freedman's findings (1958:21) that "as long as at least one of the parents is alive, married brothers were more likely to remain together," family division in Hsin Hsing village usually takes place before the death of the old father. Frequently, it occurs soon after the sons of the family are married and sometimes after the first son has married. In such an early division the parents, who are sometimes not very elderly, may join the conjugal family of one of the sons, thus forming a stem family. More frequently, however, the parents themselves form another conjugal family as do each of their sons. If the parents do form a stem family with the oldest son, he may be granted a somewhat larger portion of land in the division than his brothers, in order to care for the parents.

In either case the parents remain in their own living quarters. If the parents form their own conjugal family and the father is still able to work in the fields, he is likely to retain a small portion of land for himself at the time of division. If the parents officially become a conjugal family, they will be fed and cared for on a rotation basis, usually for ten or fifteen days, by each of the *new chia* formed by the sons. They receive a certain amount of pocket money from each son, sometimes in cash but frequently in rice, after each harvest. (They can then sell the rice when they need cash.) Should they need medical care, it is the sons' responsibility to contribute equally towards its cost. If division takes place before all the children are married, the parents form a conjugal family with the unmarried children, retaining a large enough share of land to give the unmarried daughters a dowry and the unmarried sons a land parcel equal to what each of the married brothers received.

From fear of public criticism as well as from filial piety a son rarely fails in his obligations to his parents. A son who has moved his conjugal family to Taipei may sometimes be delinquent in sharing the costs of his parents' care, but more often the problem is his inability to do his share of parent-feeding in the monthly rotation. Under such circumstances the other brothers often refuse to take over the absent one's duties, dividing the month up among all the brothers as if the Taipei brother were still in the village. The parents, then, much to their annoyance, have to cook their own food in the absent brother's part of the rotation, even though he sends them money from Taipei to pay for it.

After the family division, if one of the sons (and his family) who received a portion of land is working in Taipei, the father may spend a good deal of his time farming the land for his son. An old father who has a family large enough to care for him in his old age may spend his time occasionally helping his sons on their land, doing odd jobs

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tau* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tau* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semi-formal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more causually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money.

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate.

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment.

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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596 618 769 353 778 562 performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for co-operation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

[178] [423]

596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaoiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaoiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaoiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaoiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaoiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaoiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

159 694 sation. On the basis of the information furnished in this statement, it is up to the investigator to get at all the facts in the case.

Unfortunately, on the basis of the Hsin Hsing side's letter of accusation, the court investigator's questions to the witnesses were such that the investigator felt that there was not enough evidence for an indictment to send the case to court, since each pair of men insisted that they had been beaten. Instead, he, like the police earlier, suggested that the two parties involved mediate their differences. Unfortunately, he did not know many facts in the case, including the fact that mediation had already failed and that the local police could be called upon to testify that the Ta Yu men had not been beaten.

Later, however, additional facts were made available to the examiner, and upon learning of these, another investigation was immediately held and an indictment was brought against the assailants. [695] Several weeks later the case came to court, and Li Fan and his father were awarded an amount of money large enough to cover doctor and hospital bills.

621 612 When village loyalty threatens *ch'in ch'i* loyalty, there is bound to be conflict in the minds of the villagers. Unlike the set institutionalized patterns for behavior regarding patrilineal relatives, there is no real institutionalization of behavior on the basis of village membership or *ch'in ch'i* relationship. This leaves ultimate behavior up to the individual, totally unstructured and influenced only according to situation. Although villagers do feel that one should not side with *ch'in ch'i* from elsewhere over one's own villagers, nevertheless, since one's village does not coincide with one's kinship group, villagers do not feel bound to support a fellow villager as they would if he were a patrilineal relative.

571 621 628 198 As a result, villagers realize that one's dependence on others must not be limited to certain people or groups simply because of the chance relationship of village membership or even, for that matter, by membership in kinship groups which may be either too small or economically too weak to be of real help. Instead, it is considered necessary to extend one's possible sources of support beyond village and patrilineal relations, by building one's network of reciprocal relationships to include people such as friends, neighbors, and *ch'in ch'i*. Then, the relationship can be based on good *kan-ch'ing*, and on such a basis people often show a greater willingness to become involved in each other's problems and to render full support.

[594] This attitude about the importance of extensive relationships outside the village, plus the expansion beyond the village that general economic change is forcing on so many villagers, tends to produce a more independent and less village-bound economic family group. It is

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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this increased independence which in turn both allows and at the same time forces the economic family to move further away from the village and even, although to a lesser extent, from the *tsu*. The process further weakens the actual unity and solidarity of the village and the *tsu* as organized bodies. But each *tsu* organization remains a competitive sociopolitical force in terms of most internal village affairs.

As we will see in the next two chapters, although the life cycle of the villagers and their supernatural and ritualistic activities (like the family and kinship system) show the effects of change and extensions of relationships beyond the village, village solidarity, unity, and cooperation are still being reinforced by these same activities. Their manner of implementation, ritual especially, continue to crosscut the various kin lines (on all levels) and to offer one of the important remaining sources for the reinforcement of village ties.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*. 846 [596] [612]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience.

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery.

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child along on her back while she goes about her work.

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often.

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance.

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hsin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

"curative and health-giving powers." Although the villagers of the Hsin Hsing area realize the importance of boiling drinking water, they will drink this holy water immediately after taking it out of the river and claim that they suffer no ill effects.

When the villagers have filled their receptacles, they depart for their own village. The *t'iao t'ung*, who is still in a trance, is carried on the top of a large sedan chair ordinarily used to transport the statues of gods. On his head is a large bandage. Although he has suffered only a superficial wound, the *t'iao t'ung's* actually cutting his head with a sword is impressive to the observers, since the blood flow increases when he dips his head into the water. All along the route homeward other villagers, already informed of the ceremonial, display sacrifices to the god who possesses the *t'iao t'ung* and bring out bottles and kettles in which to receive some of the holy water that is being transported in large barrels.

THE FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE

Having examined the occasion and occurrence of many rites and rituals, we turn now to ways in which they function within the structure of village society and support it. Generally, their most obvious contribution is that participation in the ritual itself helps to relieve the anxiety of people who are desperately seeking to survive in a world of uncertainty or looking for solutions to otherwise insoluble problems. This is true whether the ritual is designed for protection or to moderate natural or supernatural disaster—illness, fire, or demonic possession—since at the very least the villager feels he is coming to grips with the problem. Other results of ritual are less obvious.

Curing rites, for example, resemble all medical practices in having useful side effects or fringe benefits beyond the actually therapeutic. Not only the patient but the whole family must be considered. The Chinese cultural focus on the family emphasizes the reciprocal responsibility of family and individual. Thus, a Taiwanese family must take advantage of every possible means to cure an ailing member or be looked down upon and criticized by the entire community for neglect, which increases the anxiety of the situation.

Therefore, when Western medicine does not work, the traditional-minded villagers turn at once to the shaman, feeling that the very failure proves that the illness is of supernatural origin. But even the skeptical families which have no firm belief in the potency of the magical rituals usually have them performed. This may be partly to avoid social censure, but, in fact, not even the most skeptical are entirely convinced that the rituals are ineffectual. Such villagers have been heard to say, "perhaps the ritual does help. And could one allow

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[8] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[3] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

592 family. As long as they constitute a single kê, or "family," a man
354 and his brothers and sons will always use the same stove, but as soon as the kê is divided new stoves must be constructed. The division of a single kê into several new units is, in fact, most commonly referred to in Hsiachichou as "the separation of the stove." The stove is both the symbol and the locus of the kê, and it is inconceivable that two families should use the same stove. So strong is this identity of stove and family that great care must be taken lest the family suffer as a result of the character of the stove. The location of the stove, the timing of its construction, and its general condition are all thought [587] of as being intimately related to the fate of the kê. When one village family learned from a shaman that "there were ants and other things in their stove," they demolished the structure and threw the bricks into the river. One of their neighbors explained, "There was nothing else they could do. A family will never have peace if it does not have a good stove."

341 Although the new village house is usually built with fairly spacious
342 dimensions, no village family would be satisfied to see their home re-
• 596 main a simple rectangular structure. Their hope is always that their sons and grandsons will marry and remain a part of the parental household, and that as a result the house will be expanded to meet the needs of an expanded family. An explicit manifestation of this hope is to be seen in the design of the new house. In addition to the large entrance which leads into the kông-thîⁿ:, the front wall of the house will always include two smaller doors, one at each end of the house.

341 But when the building is new these doors are not used as entrances to
342
596 the house; in fact, they are usually closed with brick or mud, whatever the original building material. They are only included in the design of the house because of the hope that eventually the house will be expanded with the addition of one or two wings of rooms. The vision which inspires Chinese domestic architecture is that of a large U shaped building housing many sons and grandsons and their wives and children.

A few of the older village houses stand in much the same condition today as they did the day they were completed. These houses are the homes of families whose fortunes have given them few male descendants and those of families whose sons and grandsons have had to leave the village in order to make a living. In the case of most of the older village homes, however, at least one and in some cases two wings have been added to the original building to create a large L or U shaped structure. Of 15 village houses of twenty years of age or more, 6 had at least one additional wing, 5 had reached the state of being balanced U shaped structures, and only 4 remained in their original rectangular shape. But while a builder's vision of the future of his house is thus often realized, these expanded homes seldom house the
X 592 harmonious extended family which inspired their construction. For
596 reasons which we will discuss in detail later, brothers will ordinarily divide their parental family within a few years after the younger brother's marriage, the result being that by the time the house reaches its full size the family has long since been split into a number of

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thîⁿ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thîⁿ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thîⁿ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thîⁿ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thîⁿ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thîⁿ: and its

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single kê, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatani for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses

Of the six houses constructed in the village during the past five years four were simply box like structures built side by side to save the expense of a wall. Since such construction precluded the possibility of later expansion, the builders of these houses had evidently given up the vision of a "great house of many generations and many branches."

*121 *592 128 data are taken was not designed with this problem in mind, and so we do not have complete information for even those recent dicisions which people might remember. We will therefore have to be satisfied with inferences based upon our knowledge of the structure of the kê and the way in which this structure has changed during the past sixty years. While such inferences will obviously not be entirely accurate, they will probably not be very much less accurate than the villager's own reports. People are not only unlikely to remember the details of events which took place thirty or forty years earlier in their lives, but when these events involved decisions about such emotionally significant matters as marriage and adoption such memories as they have are likely to be distorted.

Initially then, we must determine who is usually present in the kê at the time decisions concerning marriage and adoption are made. We speak specifically of the time at which these decisions are made because the composition of the kê varies over time in a cyclical manner. *592 [178] Given the vagaries of nature, there are, of course, many variations in the cycle, but, in general, the cycle repeats itself in a period of approximately twenty to twenty-five years and includes three phases, the joint family, the stem family, and the elemementary family.

• 596 In the joint family phase, the kê typically consists of a man and his wife, their married sons and their wives and children, and perhaps an unmarried son or daughter. The father of such a family will usually be a man in his late forties or early fifties; his wife, a few years younger; and his sons and their wives young people in their early

596 twenties who have been married within the last four or five years. Unless the father is ill or in some other way incapacitated he will occupy the position of kā-tiû:, or "head of household", and will manage most of the family's affairs, including their common purse. If his sons earn a cash wage, this money will be turned over to the father who will then redistribute it as he sees fit. In practice, a reasonably forceful and capable young man may exert a considerable influence in family affairs, but in theory at least all family decisions are the responsibility of the father in his role of kā-tiû:. Unless the family is an exceptionally poor one, in which case one or all of the sons' wives may work, these women will share the burden of managing the kitchen, the most common arrangement being for them to rotate the responsibility. In actual practice, their husbands' mother will usually work side by side with them, but ideally her role is supervisory.

The arrangements of the joint family have very definite advantages for its members. It is difficult for a man with a plot of land the size of that held by most village families to earn a living for his wife and children. If he works his land he can usually feed the family with the produce of the land, but then he has no cash income to provide for the family's other needs; on the other hand, if he lets the land lie fallow to take a job as a laborer, the additional cash income seldom offsets the expense of buying food. A few village men try to do both, working in a factory or mine during the day and on their land in the evening, but this requires that a person possess exceptional energy. A much more efficient way of managing is for two or three men

• 596 men to pool their efforts, one of them farming their joint land holdings while the other provides the cash income, and this is, of course, the usual arrangement in the joint family. One of the men in the family, usually the father who is more experienced as a farmer, tills the family's fields, while his sons take jobs as miners or laborers. The family thus has not only all of its food provided but also a cash income to meet its other needs.

596 462 Not without its advantage to the joint family is the presence of several able-bodied adult woman. The amount of work required of women in the average village family is enormous. Aside from cooking for a large family and caring for their children, women must chop and cook the food for the family's pigs; feed and care for their ducks and chickens; salt and store seasonal vegetables; wash the family's clothes by hand in the river; clean and maintain the house and furniture; help with the winnowing of rice at harvest time; and so forth, almost endlessly. The advantage of the joint family is that these tasks can be shared and rotated. One woman assumes the responsibility for marketing and cooking for five or seven days, and is then free for an equal length of time during which she can sew, tend to the special needs of her children, 593 596 and perhaps even pay a visit to her relatives. To have time to visit relatives is of particular importance to young married women who often have no friends in their husband's village and find a visit home their only recreation.

While the arrangements in the joint family have real advantages they also work to create equally real difficulties. The concept and

precedent of filial piety is so strong that a father and son can usually manage to share a common income without serious quarrels, but the traditional value placed upon sibling solidarity is more an injunction than a reality. Put in a situation of having to share, adult brothers usually end up hating one another. Of the various cases of physical violence recorded in our field notes the majority of those involving adult males are cases of fights between brothers. One brother may resent the fact that the other contributes less to the family purse and takes out equally, or one may feel that the other is secretly withholding part of his income. The complaints expressed in the following interview are symptomatic of the tensions which characterize relations between the various units of the joint family.

"You have been living in our house this long now. I'm sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I really don't like to talk about family business. If I tell people outside the family they laugh and wonder how we can get along this badly. If you compare the amount of work our half of the family does with the amount my uncle's half does, who works the most? Just look. When my uncle sees that I am very busy he won't even ask his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze after school. This is work that the children of a farmer are expected to do, but he never tells his children to do it. I have so many things to do myself and then I have to take care of the buffalo too. There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to sit and take in money. If he wants the fields to grow up to grass, I can sit and receive, too.

The other day my wife kept asking me to let her buy a pair of new shoes but I told her she couldn't because I didn't want the other half of the family to talk about us. So what happened? Everytime my uncle's wife walked out of her room she had on a new pair of shoes. Where does all that money come from? Whenever it isn't my aunt's turn to cook she is off visiting

• 596 this one and that one. It is hard to believe that when you go out you don't have to spend any money. Does this money fall from the sky? When it is her turn to cook, my mother is always around helping her, but when it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt is far away and her children sit there and cry and yell. Never once, even when it wasn't her turn to cook, has my aunt chopped up sweet potato leaves to feed the pigs. It is always my wife or my mother who has to do that.

593 As a result of these tensions the joint family phase of the family
596 cycle is ordinarily short lived. Within a year or two of the time that
[178] the second brother marries most village families divide into two separate units. Although there were twenty men living in Hsiachichou in 1960 who had at least one married brother, there were only three kê which included married brothers. In ten cases two married brothers actually lived in the same house, sharing the same kōng-thia:, but each had his own stove and controlled his own purse, constituting a separate kê. In most cases brothers did continue to cooperate in the worship of common ancestors, and in at least one case shared the use of a water buffalo, but relations were typically hostile and distant. The animosities which cause the kê to break up in the first place are often intensified by the haggling involved in the division of the family property with the result that even as elderly men many brothers barely speak to one another.

592 After the division of the kê the parents either live with one of
593 their sons and his family or live alternately with each in turn. There have been no cases in the recent history of Hsiachichou in which a man and his wife established their own independent kê after their children divided the family. There are various reasons for this.

remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternately with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 594 621 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 886 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiû: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiû:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

• 596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
597
598 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.
[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterised as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

3: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

596

[For information on the extended family, see category 116, pp. xiv, xv, 10-12, 29-58, and 72-148.]

[Information on kê and chia may also be found in the category 592.]

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

bok's young son, the tiny family tyrant, smiled, and ran off to join a nearby ball game. Unlike any of his brothers and sisters, Kui-hok openly adores his father. Even the adults are amused by his practice of hoarding any treats that come his way to share with his father. He is shy, particularly with us, but not so shy that he wouldn't occasionally slip his hand into my husband's when they happened to be going in the same direction.

Lim Chui-ieng now uses her older children as substitutes for the adult friends she has been unable or unwilling to make in the village, but as infants she did not find the solace in them that many unhappy wives do. After the first two, she was unable to produce sufficient milk and had to rely on powdered milk and local substitutes such as rice gruel and soy milk. She complains of the work they cause her, and she complains of the bad effect her pregnancies have had on her health. After the birth of Kui-hok, Lim Chieng-cua made an extraordinary suggestion for a Chinese husband. He told his wife to have an hysterectomy, the only means of birth control considered reliable at that time by the Taiwanese. Most men, even men considerably poorer than Lim Chieng-cua, are unwilling to limit the size of their families. The number of sons a man has is a great source of pride. An old man told me, "People here don't ask how much money you have. They ask how many sons you have." Perhaps the fact that Lim Chieng-cua had three sons and was seriously concerned about Taiwan's population problems prompted his suggestion to his wife. And perhaps he was looking at the more personal future of his family. If his three sons as adults could not live in harmony under the leadership of the eldest, their share of the family property would be divided in three portions. A three-way division of Lim Chieng-cua's half of the family estate would make small portions and more sons with even smaller shares would land each of them back close to where old Lim Han-ci had begun. Lim Chieng-cua may also have been worried about his wife's health although to me she looked stronger than most of her neighbors. Perhaps he was just tired of her complaints.

Out of fear, Lim Chui-ieng delayed the operation until after the birth of two more children. Lim Chieng-cua remarked to me once that it would have been a great blessing to everyone if she had gone when he first suggested it. The fifth child, Bieng-cu, is an ugly, sulky little girl. Her habitual expression is one of barely repressed anger. She has not yet the courage to express her feelings in attacks on her peers so

592 593 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest [562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the 596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri- 592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex- 596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

• 596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[183] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei, 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

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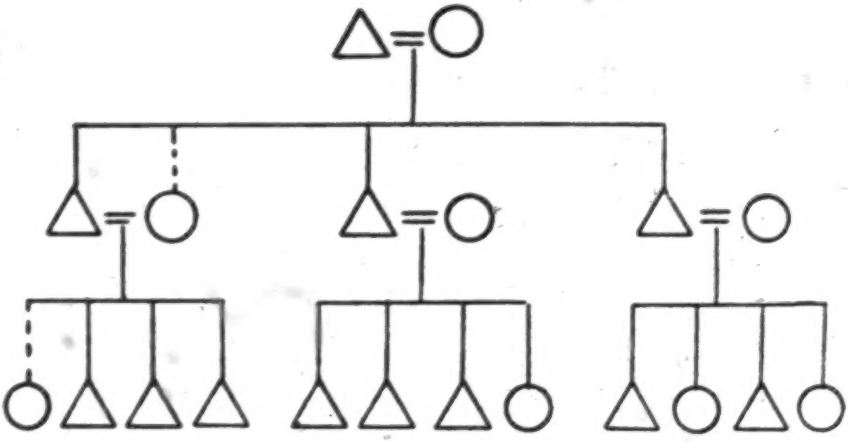

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu Chia.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, ta chia t'ing (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

121 (1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger
178 than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing
59 there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un.
59 For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is
121 diagramed in Figure 5 includes four adult males although
178 the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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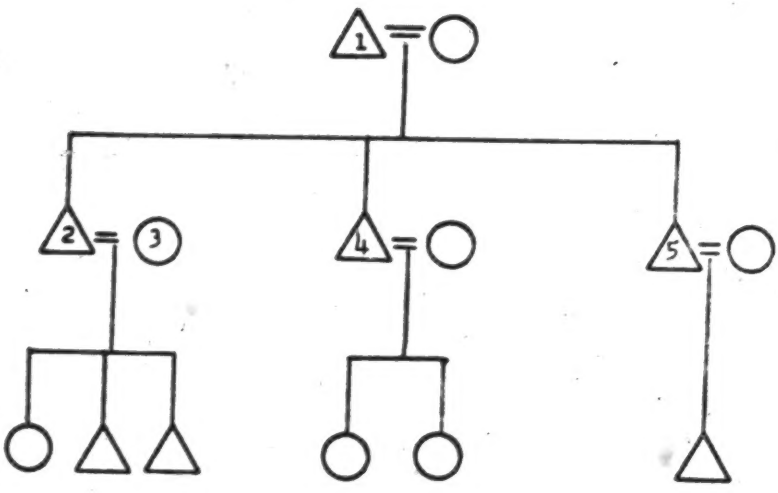

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

602 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother.
769 There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

121 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage
• 596 organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

121 continuum described by Freedman or even those found by
596 Gallin in Hsin Hsing (1966). Rather, they are closely similar in form and function to those described for a Hakka community in South Taiwan by Cohen (1969:167-182) although land owned by a lineage segment and rotated among members is extremely rare in Sanlei. This agnatic unit which owns a piece of property in common (a kung t'ing) approximately fits Freedman's definition of a compound: an agnatic group which "although occupying one set of dwellings, is or may be subdivided into distinct kitchen and property-owning groups" (1958:36-7). The separate chia (family) or hu (household) were all related agnatically but the relationships were variable. Each member chia had its own chia chang (head) and the senior chia chang with respect to generation and age was the head of the compound although his rights and duties in this connection were minimal.

121 Worship in the compound in Sanlei is not like that
769 described by Gallin (1966:239) nor Freedman (1958:56-58)
596 since both distinguished the domestic worship of ancestors from the worship by higher-level agnatic groupings. After pointing out the above, Cohen (1969:170) describes a merging of domestic and compound worship in the single kung t'ing for each compound in the Hakka village which would apply equally well to Sanlei. No family in Sanlei which was part of a compound maintained the separate worship

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769
596 area for its own most recent ancestors as described by Gallin (1966:239) for Hsin Hsing.

In contrast to many other reports, in Sanlei the central unifying element in worship is the hsiang lu, ancestor's pot or censer, rather than the ancestor's tablets. This difference is explored more fully in Chapter VI but introduction of the fact is necessary to the current discussion. The basis for membership in a compound is problematical, but certainly involves an agnatic relationship. However, there are other potential members of the compound, some with even better credentials for membership, who live and worship elsewhere. Cadet branches which are established in another living unit may return for common worship for a number of years, to be ended only with the endowment of a new ancestor's pot by carrying ashes from the original pot in a red paper envelope from the old kung t'ing to the new one.

601 A single Liao "compound" is illustrated in Figure
596 12. One part of the diagram consists of a kinship diagram of the descendants of Liao Chin-I, but omits those who are dead, adopted-out, married-out, or moved away except when necessary to indicate genealogical connections. Currently, there are six legal and actual hu (households). Each hu is a nuclear unit, indicated with a letter, i.e., A. B, etc., and with its respective chia chang (head) indicated
596 by cross-hatching. The second part of the diagram is a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 307

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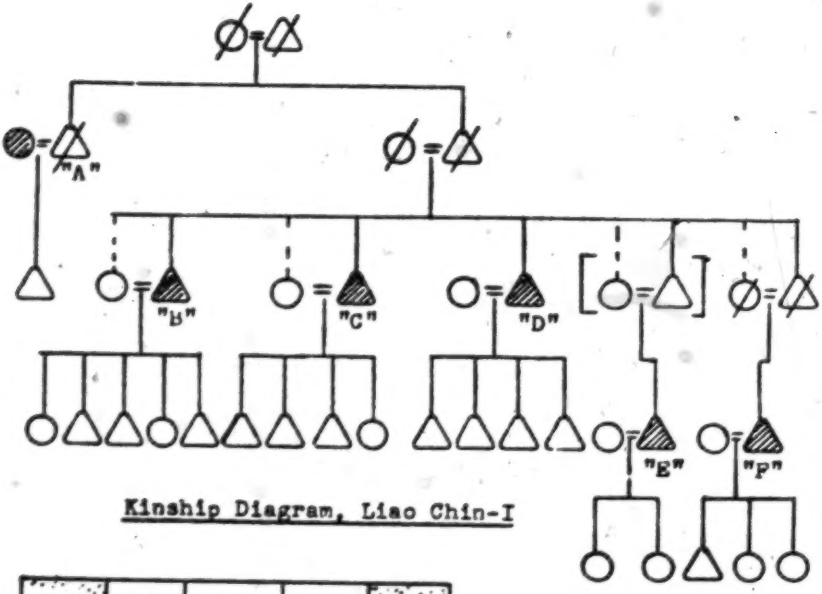
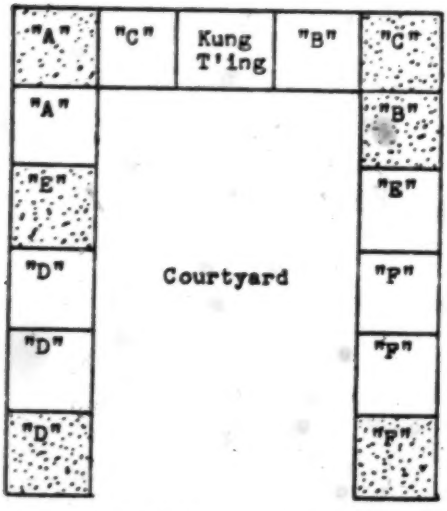


Kinship Diagram, Liao Chin-I



Building Diagram, Liao Chin-I "Compound"

Note
In the kinship diagram, each chia is identified with a letter which also designates the owner of the rooms in the dwelling unit. The kitchen for each hu is indicated by dots. The chia chang of each family is identified by cross-hatching. The kung t'ing and the courtyard are owned jointly.

Figure 12. Kinship and Dwelling Diagram, Liao Chin-I

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 842 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [574] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

769 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I,
596 the founder of the compound, have certain rights of wor-
782 ship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events, 562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

596 602 In summary, the "compound" is a corporate kinship unit which functions jointly for ritual purposes, and owns property, the kung t'ing, in common. There are several such units in Sanlei. In worship, they are all like the previously listed Hakka community (Cohen, 1969) in this merging of domestic and compound (agnatic unit) worship and unlike the communities described in the reports of Gallin (1966) and Freedman (1958) in which there is a separation between domestic and compound or lineage worship.

769 The crucial item in the ancestral ceremony is not the ancestor tablet although these are occasionally present but the ancestral incense pot, hsiang lu. The ancestral table which occupies a central place in each village kung t'ing (see Figure 4), always has at least one ancestral pot and almost always a god's pot in addition. Sometimes there is more than one ancestral pot, each with a different surname. An adopted-in husband often brings his own ancestor pot with his own surname. Given the high incidence of adopted-in husbands that have occurred over an extended period of time, this pot multiplication is quite common. Additionally, some women occasionally bring in their family ancestral pots, especially when they were the last of a line. Pots with different surnames are usually separated by a small board fence in accordance with the belief that ancestors with different surnames fight. Worship of all pots on a single table is performed regularly.

769 Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

621 769 A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

596 941 [621] Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 861 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is especially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily identify which family within it. Also, although women neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields. Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 462 578 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the break up of compounds and the division of extended families is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

596
462 rotating work responsibilities. In other words, although
578 women may be the key to the dissolution of family structures, they may also be thought of as the essential glue which holds them together. Note that the adult male occupations in the village are quite heterogeneous, i.e., rice farmer, tea farmer, tea processor, miner, etc., while their wives' occupations in the village are relatively homogeneous, housekeeper, cook, tea picker, etc. It is much easier for a woman to substitute for any other woman than it is for a man to substitute for any other man. I do know that conflicts over men's occupations within a household lead to family divisions because each feels the other is not contributing his share (for an extended case study see M. Wolfe, 1968). Because men's jobs are so different it is hard to determine equality whereas women's jobs are so nearly identical, this can not be a similar source of conflict. This discussion should not preclude consideration of the fact that there are many other sources of conflict in the large family household in addition to those arising over economic contributions. Nevertheless, all compounds include women who cooperate very closely with each other and all extended families include women who cooperate even more closely with each other.

596 The compound frequently acts collectively as a political or economic force in the village. This is possibly due to its internal identification as a kinship

596 unit, but may be merely due to the fact that the typical unit is in the shape of a "U" with doors rarely opening on other than the inner court-yard. Interaction is much more frequent among the compound members as opposed to outsiders because of propinquity and convenience and increased communication often leads to mutual understanding. In any case, the "compound" is highly valued, not as good as the ta chia ting (extended family), but much better morally and economically than scattered single household units.